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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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882 intimate relationship with my other informants. This, to-
• 839 gether with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could de-
[123] termine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse sus-
[795] picion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent [838] girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, [839] either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in in-834 tensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her